

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6810

INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMCONSUL SURABAYA

S E C R E T JAKARTA 2488

EXDIS

E.O . 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PO ID

SUBJECT: PORTUGUESE TIMOR: CONTINGENCY PAPER-ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS

REF: A. JAKARTA 2022 B. JAKARTA A-24

1. IN VIEW MANY INDICATIONS OF INDONESIAN ANXIETY OVER FUTURE PORTUGUESE TIMOR (BEING REPORTED SEPARATELY) EMBASSY HAS REVIEWED CONTINGENCY PAPER (REFTEL AND REPAIR) TO SEE WHETHER THERE ARE ADDITIONAL OPTIONS OPEN TO US WHICH WE COULD, IF NECESSARY, SUPPORT. PRESENT SITUATION RESEMBLES CLOSELY THAT DESCRIBED IN SITUATION II OF CONTINGENCY PAPER (INDONESIA REACHES CONCLUSION AGREEMENT WITH PORTUGAL NOT IN CARDS, ETC.) AND OUR OPTIONS WHICH FOLLOW (AND WHICH EXPAND ON POINTS MADE IN STUDY) PERTAIN TO THIS SITUATION.

2. OPTION A. EITHER ALONE OR IN CONCERT WITH AUSTRALIA AND PERHAPS NEW ZEALAND WE SUGGEST TO GOI THAT ONE METHOD OF OBTAINING PORTUGUESE COOPERATION IN AN EVENTUAL PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF SOVEREIGNTY OF TIMOR TO INDONESIA WOULD HELP SUBSIDIZE PORTUGUESE EFFORTS TO ASSURE WELFARE OF TIMORESE. GOI MIGHT EVEN OFFER TO TAKE OVER PART OR ALL OF SUBSIDY DURING LAST STAGES OF PORTUGUESE RULE.

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3. ASSUMING THAT GOP IS LOOKING FOR A WAY TO COOPERATE IN AN EVENTUAL TRANSFER OF SOVEREIGNTY TO INDONESIA, GOI ASSURANCES OF PEOPLE'S WELFARE WOULD MAKE IT MUCH EASIER FOR LISBON TO DO SO. HOWEVER, SINCE ALTHOUGH EVIDENCE SEEMS TO POINT TO CONCLUSION THAT JAKARTA HAS

DECIDED LISBON IS NOT PREPARED TO COOPERATE IN AN EFFORT TO INTEGRATE PORTUGUESE TIMOR INTO INDONESIA, IT SEEMS DOUBTFUL THAT INDONESIA WOULD FIND OUR APPROACH CONVINCING UNLESS BACKED UP BY SOME INDICATION OF GOP DESIRE TO COOPERATE; THIS SUGGESTS WE OR AUSTRALIANS WOULD NEED TO APPROACH PORTUGAL.

4. OPTION B. WE DISCUSS SITUATION WITH BOTH GOLAND GOI. TO GOP WE SAY THAT, GIVEN GOI CONCERNS OVER SECURITY PROBLEMS INHERENT IN A WEAK AND UNSTABLE INDEPENDENT TIMOR, THERE IS A REAL CHANCE OF CONFRONTATION AND SUGGEST GOP COULD HELP DEFUSE THE SITUATION BY ASSURING GOI PORTUGAL IS NOT CONTEMPLATING GRANT OF IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE AND IS WILLING TO OFFER INDONESIA THE CHANCE TO CONVINCE PORTUGUESE TIMORESE THAT INTEGRATION INTO INDONESIA WOULD BE AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. TO GOI WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT INDONESIA OFFER TO WORK WITH GOP FOR BENEFIT OF TIMORESE, SHARING (OR PERHAPS ASSUMING) ANNUAL SUBSIDY.

5. IF THE TWO SIDES ARE LOOKING FOR A WAY TO COOPERATE THIS PLAN MIGHT HAVE MERIT. KEY TO SITUATION WOULD AGAIN BE PORTUGUESE STANCE.

6. OPTION C. DISCUSS SITUATION WITH GOP, GOI AND PERHAPS AUSTRALIANS, NEW ZEALANDERS AND OTHER FRIENDLY NATIONS (ASEAN STATES?) AND EVENTUALLY UN, SUGGESTING THAT BEST SOLUTION FOR TIMOR WOULD BE ONE ALONG LINES OF IRIAN JAYA WHEREIN PORTUGAL WOULD TRANSFER AUTHORITY TO UN, WITH LATTER GIVING A MANDATE TO INDONESIA FOR A SPECIFIED PERIOD OF TIME, AFTER WHICH THERE WOULD BE A PLEBISCITE OF SOME KIND. CONDOMINIUM TYPE ARRANGEMENT MIGHT ALSO BE CONSIDERED.

7. SINE QUA NON OF THIS OPTION WOULD BE WILLINGNESS OF  
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PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT TO COOPERATE, WHICH GOI APPARENTLY DOES NOT FORESEE. SHOULD GOP BE WILLING NEXT IMPORTANT ELEMENT WOULD BE ACQUIESCENCE OF UN TO SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT, WHICH MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN. (ONE FACTOR APPARENTLY PUSHING SUHARTO TOWARD AN EARLY DECISION TO MOVE IS A DESIRE TO AVOID DISCUSSION OF TIMOR'S FATE AT UN, WHICH WOULD LIKELY GIVE RISE TO CRITICISM OF INDONESIA'S STANCE VIS A VIS TIMOR AND COULD MAKE INTEGRATION

OF TERRITORY MORE DIFFICULT.) INDONESIA WOULD BE INTERESTED IN GOING UN ROUTE ONLY IF ASSURED OF A REASONABLY SYMPATHETIC REACTION.

8. OPTION D. WE SUGGEST TO GOP AND GOI (IN COORDINATION WITH AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND AS APPROPRIATE) THAT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO MAKING PORTUGUESE TIMOR AN INDEPENDENT PROTECTORATE SUBSIDIZED BY AND ALLIED TO INDONESIA.

9. THIS SOLUTION IS PERHAPS ONE MOST LIKELY TO AVOID INDONESIA'S TAKING PRECIPITOUS ACTION TO INCORPORATE TIMOR. MAJOR QUESTIONS WOULD BE WHETHER GOP, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT ITS AFRICAN AND OTHER LDC INTERESTS, WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO THIS ROUTE, AND WHETHER UN COULD BE CONVINCED OF ITS ACCEPTABILITY IN FACE OF ALMOST CERTAIN OPPOSITION BY AT LEAST SOME OF PORTUGUESE TIMORESE.

10. WHILE, FROM VANTAGE OF JAKARTA, WE CONTINUE SEE MERIT IN RECOMMENDATIONS IN REFTEL/REFAIR TO MAINTAIN MAXIMUM SILENCE PRESENT AND TAKE POSITION MOST LIELY TO AVOID SERIOUS DAMAGE TO US-INDONESIAN RELATIONSHIP SHOULD INDONESIA MOVE, WE REALIZE THAT OTHER FACTORS - SUCH AS LIKELY US DOMESTIC, PORTUGUESE, AUSTRALIAN AND LDC REACTION TO A TAKEOVER - MAY REQUIRE US TO TAKE MOVE INVOLVED POSITION. ADDITIONAL ADVANTAGE OF ANY OF FOUR OPTIONS ABOVE IS THAT, EVEN SHOULD WE FAIL, WE WILL NOT BE OPEN TO LATER CHARGES THAT WE STOOD BY SILENTLY WHILE AGGRESSION PLANNED AND EXECUTED.

11. IN REVIEWING THESE ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS, DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO CONSULT WITH USUN, MAKING AVAILABLE THIS AND REFERENCED MESSAGES.

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